

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

JAMES BARNABY, Publishing Agent.

VOL. 5--NO. 13.

SALEM, COLUMBIANA CO., OHIO, DECEMBER 8, 1849.

WHOLE NO. 221.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE, PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, AT SALEM, COLUMBIANA CO., OHIO.

TERMS.
\$1.50 per annum, if paid within the first six months of the subscriber's year.
If paid before three months of the year has expired, a deduction of twenty-five cents will be made, reducing the price to \$1.25.
If payment be made in advance, or on the receipt of the first number, fifty cents will be deducted, making the subscription but \$1.
To any person wishing to examine the character of the paper, it will be furnished six months, for fifty cents in advance; to all others, seventy-five cents will be charged.
No circulation sent numbers to those who are not subscribers, but who are believed to be interested in the dissemination of anti-slavery truth, with the hope that they will either subscribe themselves, or use their influence to extend its circulation among their friends.
Communications intended for insertion, to be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor, at Salem to JAMES BARNABY, Publishing Agent.

Selections.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BY WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

"We will extend to the slaveholder all the courtesy he will allow. If he is hungry, we will feed him; if he is in want, both hands shall be stretched out for his aid. We will give him full credit for all the good that he does, and our deep sympathy in all the temptations under whose strength he falls. But to help him in his sin, to remain partners with him in the slave-trade, is more than he has a right to ask."—*Wendell Phillips.*

No wrong action can be rightfully done.—No wrong can be rightfully supported.—We can neither rightfully hold slaves nor support others in slaveholding, because, as we have seen, slaveholding is under all circumstances wrong. Some of the provisions of the Constitution, as we have seen, were expressly designed for the purpose of supporting slavery, and for over half a century have been faithfully supported. Consequently, these provisions cannot be rightfully obeyed or supported. It is wrong to offer a bounty on slaveholding,—to give the oppressor power and influence in proportion as he tramples on the rights of his fellow-man; it is wrong to return, or aid in returning, a fugitive slave; it is wrong to aid in keeping the slave in his chains. These things are wrong, and not all the Constitutions and laws of the Universe can make them right. We cannot, therefore, rightfully obey the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution.

If we cannot rightfully obey them ourselves, we cannot rightfully, voluntarily, support others in obeying them. If it is wrong for us to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for us voluntarily to aid or support others in doing the same. If it is wrong for us to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for us to aid or support others in obeying the pro-slavery requirements of the Constitution.

If we cannot rightfully obey them, it is wrong for us to promise such obedience. If it is wrong for us voluntarily to support others in their obedience, it is wrong for us to promise such support. If it is wrong for us to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for us to aid or support others in doing the same. If it is wrong for us to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for us to aid or support others in obeying the pro-slavery requirements of the Constitution.

Some good men seek to avoid the difficulty by saying, "When I swear to support the Constitution, I mean I will support the good clauses in it, and disobey the bad, and submit to the penalty for such disobedience." But such a course is not a compliance with the terms of the oath. You have sworn to support the Constitution; that is, the whole Constitution,—all its clauses,—the bad as well as the good. Your oath is not in the alternative, "I will support the clause requiring the return of fugitive slaves, or pay five hundred dollars for every slave I rescue; or, simply, without qualification, 'I will support the side of the oppressor.'"

If you aid the fugitive slave to escape from his master, you do not support the latter in retaining his property, merely by paying the legal penalty for not giving such support. You say your oath is not broken, because you submit to the penalty for not supporting it. The thief does not support the law of private property, merely by submitting to the legal punishment of his crime. To support is to swear to be active, and you do not comply with your oath by being merely passive. You have sworn actively to support the recapture of slaves. You break your oath, if you refuse to do this, or do any thing less or different from this.

Others think to find a good excuse for taking the oath by adopting another alternative equally unauthorized. "We will support the Constitution," say they, "until we are called on to act under any of its bad clauses, and then we will resign our office, and refuse obedience." Doubtless, honor requires you to resign, if you cannot comply with the terms of your oath; but what right have you to adopt or imagine an alternative in your oath where the law has made none,—where the officer administering it will admit of none? Who does not see a wide difference between an honest oath to support the return of fugitive slaves, and an oath to support such return, but with a firm resolve on your part to refuse such support when called on for it, and to resign? What right have you to take an oath which you have previously resolved not to keep, when called on to comply with it? You admit that a bad clause cannot be rightfully supported, else why do you not support it? You admit that the oath obliges you to support the bad clauses of the Constitution as well as the good; else why do you resign, if refusal to support the bad clauses is consistent with your oath? You openly avow, therefore, that, at the very moment you swear to support a clause, you determine never to support it. You swear, and determine not to keep your oath! Such a course seems to us inconsistent with the plainest rules of honesty. We have no right to promise to do right when the time for action shall arrive.

Others say, "We swear to support the Constitution as we understand it, and we consider it an anti-slavery instrument." In other words, you swear to support an interpretation which is contrary to the plain, obvious, and common meaning of the instrument; contrary to the interpretation put upon it by its framers; contrary to that followed by all the executive and legislative departments of the government, from its first establishment until now; and contrary to that which has been adjudged to be its true interpretation by the final arbiter of its meaning. Of course, you intend to support the true meaning of the Constitution. Do you really believe that the people of the United States did not mean by their words what those words then commonly meant? Do you really believe that we are politically united with the South in the support of slavery. We have shown that we should constantly bear upon our lips, and in our lives, the motto, "No union with slaveholders, whereby we are obliged to countenance or support slavery." We desire to see a union among the States, but not a slaveholding union! A union of free men and free States for the sake of freedom, no one would more readily support than we.—But a union like ours, of free men and slaveholders, of free States and slave States, for the sake, in part, of securing property in slaves, is demoralizing (how demoralizing has it been!) to both parties, and should receive, as it doubtless at no distant day will receive, the condemnation of the wise and good. In the meantime, it ought not, and it will not, receive either our respect or our voluntary support.

Others say, "We took the oath before we had any of our present scruples. We would not take the oath now; but, nevertheless, we shall continue in office, and disregard our oath." This excuse seems to us very objectionable. How can you reap the honor or pecuniary advantages of your office, and honestly refuse compliance with your part of the bargain? When you took office, you were really told, that if you would swear to support the return of fugitive slaves, &c., you should enjoy these honors and their profits. The conscientious man, who, in striving to benefit himself, not his condition, discovers afterwards that he cannot rightfully aid, or promise to aid the slaveholder in retaining his slaves, will not think of changing the reward which was offered to him, solely because he swore to give such aid. He will make haste to resign honors and rewards which he feels can be retained only at the price of his own degradation.

If we cannot rightfully hold any office, State or National, which requires of us a promise to support the Constitution, it is wrong to place, or voluntarily aid in placing, any other person in such office; for by so doing, we ask him to do wrong. If we vote for Horace Mann, by this act alone we say to him, as distinctly as if the words passed our lips,—We wish to elect you as representative to Congress. If chosen, we expect and ask you to qualify yourself to act as representative, by swearing to give slavery all constitutional support. Merely by voting for him, we ask him to do wrong, hoping that good may come, almost knowing that good will come! So little faith have we in the final triumph of right and justice, by pursuing only right and just ways! Of so little consequence do we consider it, that the earnest advocate of freedom should commence his holy work by promising very materially to strengthen slavery! But a short time has elapsed since we read one of his most eloquent rebukes of slavery. Our heart beat quickly as we read his earnest words. But if, in the midst of his address, some slaveholder had turned and asked him, "How happens it, sir, that you, who are so very earnest and disinterested in behalf of the rights of the slave, have been willing to swear to support the return of fugitive slaves, to any extent or for any time?" And what answer could be returned? The eloquent tongue would be palsied! Surely that man who has solemnly called God to witness that he will support the oppressor, cannot fail, at some time or another, to feel himself to be unworthy to plead the cause of freedom.

Finally, some say, "This reasoning leads to non-resistance. You disregard the fact that all human governments must contain a greater or less amount of evil; and consequently, if ever you are to support any government in all its requirements, you must support evil." Very true it is that human governments and laws fall short of our relative standard of right, and always of absolute right. What is our duty? Clearly, as moral beings, to support the right, and refuse to support the wrong. Nothing less than this is required of us. Nothing less than this is our duty. We are not put into the world, blindly to support all existing governmental wrongs, until they can be constitutionally abolished. We are to be true to ourselves as moral beings. If we can be true to our own souls and support the government, we may give such support,—not otherwise! Right and wrong are not creatures of agreement and law. Neither the Philadelphia Convention that framed the Constitution, nor the State Conventions that adopted it, had power to make wrong in the slightest degree right, or alter at all the moral character of slaveholding. Right is right, the Revised Statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.—Wrong is wrong, the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. We say, therefore, we will obey the good requirements of the Constitution, and peacefully submit to the penalty of disobeying the bad. This is all that government has a right to ask of us. Institutions were made for man, not man for institutions. Constitutions are the work of man, and man is to be revered before his works. We see no inconsistency or impropriety in supporting the system of free-trade between the States, and refusing to support the domestic slave-trade; in supporting the patent laws, and refusing to aid in returning a runaway slave. We are good-government men, not no-government men. All governments are partly good. All we are willing to support in part; we will actively support the Constitution and laws, so far as conscience permits; we will peacefully submit to legal exaction for disobeying the rest.

Our purpose is accomplished. We have shown that we are politically united with the South in the support of slavery. We have shown that we should constantly bear upon our lips, and in our lives, the motto, "No union with slaveholders, whereby we are obliged to countenance or support slavery." We desire to see a union among the States, but not a slaveholding union! A union of free men and free States for the sake of freedom, no one would more readily support than we.—But a union like ours, of free men and slaveholders, of free States and slave States, for the sake, in part, of securing property in slaves, is demoralizing (how demoralizing has it been!) to both parties, and should receive, as it doubtless at no distant day will receive, the condemnation of the wise and good. In the meantime, it ought not, and it will not, receive either our respect or our voluntary support.

From the Chronotype.
Slavery in Kentucky.
The Slaveocratic Constitutional Convention of Kentucky, have had some rich discussions on the Slavery question, on a proposition to forbid the importation of slaves into the State, amended so as to admit the importation by any one for his own use. They have also a proposition before them to prohibit emancipation, and to require the expulsion of the free blacks from the State!
On the non-importation clause, Mr. Clark opposing it said—
"I am not unwilling to declare here before the State and world, that I believe Slavery as it exists in the Slave States of this Union, elevates the character of the white race, its dignity, and its morals, and I trust we shall frame a Constitution that will perpetuate Slavery in this State in all time to come."
The same chivalric, whole animal advocate of nabobism, also declared that he was unwilling to confer on the Legislature the power to legislate on the subject of Slavery at all.
The great mass of the debates professed themselves opposed to Slavery, provided the question were of its introduction. If they were founding a new State, it should not be admitted. They desired that every human being should be free. Yet taking things as they were, they regarded Slavery as a blessing to both whites and blacks, and deprecated any measures tending to emancipation! There were, however, two noble exceptions. Mr. Root ably and eloquently plead against shutting the door to freedom, and regarded slavery as a curse from which the State should abhor, and hope to be freed. Mr. Garfield opposed a motion to lay the discussion on the table, because, as he said, there were two "literary gems in embryo" which he wished to see developed. The first was, that Slavery was a moral blessing to blacks and whites. The second was the "divine axiom that the being who descended from heaven to free mankind from the shackles of sin, came also to assist in riveting the shackles of human despotism." He wished to have the discussion continue till these strange doctrines could be demonstrated. It is hardly necessary to remark that that would be making it a permanent assembly.

In the Louisville Journal of Oct. 16th, is an editorial commentary on these proceedings, in which, under the most downy tenderness towards the Slave Power, some terribly sharp truths are presented to the Slaveholders. We do not remember when we have seen the practical system so cut to pieces under the guise of friendship. Almer, the son of Ner, could not have stabbed it more precisely thro' the heart, with "the kinder end of the spear," than Prentice has done in this article. Whether his fifth rib will be tickled with some slaveholding Job's bowie knife in consequence, remains to be seen.

Slavery and the Missionary Work.

As an illustration of the blinding influence of slavery, we copy the following advertisement from the Religious Herald, a Baptist paper, published in Richmond, Va.:
WHO WANTS \$35,000 IN PROPERTY?

I am desirous to spend the balance of my life as a Missionary, if the Lord permit, and therefore, offer for sale my Farm, THE VINEYARD, adjacent to Williamsburgh, and containing about 600 acres—well watered, well wooded, and abounding in well-together with all the crops and stock, and utensils thereon. Also, my house and lot in town, fitted up as a boarding establishment, with all the furniture belonging to the same.

Also, about forty Servants, mostly young and likely, and rapidly increasing in number and value.

To a kind master, I would put the whole property at the reduced price of thirty-five thousand dollars, and arrange the payments tenderly to suit the purchaser, provided the interest be annually paid.

SERVANT JONES.

Would any Northern Christian believe it possible, that a true disciple of him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to the bound, could assign, as a reason for wishing to sell forty human beings, a pious and benevolent desire to be a missionary? Mr. Jones does this, and apparently in all sincerity! Slavery has blinded him.

In the hope of securing a purchaser, he assures all who read, that his forty servants are mostly young and likely, and rapidly increasing in number and value. He thus virtually claims the right to seize upon and hold as his own, every child that may be born to any of those whom he calls his servants, and he proposes to transfer that right to the purchaser of his human chattels. Yet he seems unconscious that in so doing he is giving the highest sanction in his power to a practice which the Scriptures rank among the highest crimes,—to man-stealing! Slavery has blinded him.

He takes credit to himself as being willing to sell his servants at a reduced price, provided the purchaser is a *kind* master. He has probably never thought of the question whether it is possible for one who deals in mortal men as merchandise to be kind; and he seems equally oblivious of the fact, that, whatever may be the character of the buyer, the persons bought may, by his death or insolvency, speedily be thrown into other hands. Slavery has blinded him.

And what of the editor or publisher who is willing to give currency to such an advertisement for money? Is he not blind also?—*Western Christian.*

From the Chronotype.
Slavery in Kentucky.
The Slaveocratic Constitutional Convention of Kentucky, have had some rich discussions on the Slavery question, on a proposition to forbid the importation of slaves into the State, amended so as to admit the importation by any one for his own use. They have also a proposition before them to prohibit emancipation, and to require the expulsion of the free blacks from the State!
On the non-importation clause, Mr. Clark opposing it said—
"I am not unwilling to declare here before the State and world, that I believe Slavery as it exists in the Slave States of this Union, elevates the character of the white race, its dignity, and its morals, and I trust we shall frame a Constitution that will perpetuate Slavery in this State in all time to come."
The same chivalric, whole animal advocate of nabobism, also declared that he was unwilling to confer on the Legislature the power to legislate on the subject of Slavery at all.
The great mass of the debates professed themselves opposed to Slavery, provided the question were of its introduction. If they were founding a new State, it should not be admitted. They desired that every human being should be free. Yet taking things as they were, they regarded Slavery as a blessing to both whites and blacks, and deprecated any measures tending to emancipation! There were, however, two noble exceptions. Mr. Root ably and eloquently plead against shutting the door to freedom, and regarded slavery as a curse from which the State should abhor, and hope to be freed. Mr. Garfield opposed a motion to lay the discussion on the table, because, as he said, there were two "literary gems in embryo" which he wished to see developed. The first was, that Slavery was a moral blessing to blacks and whites. The second was the "divine axiom that the being who descended from heaven to free mankind from the shackles of sin, came also to assist in riveting the shackles of human despotism." He wished to have the discussion continue till these strange doctrines could be demonstrated. It is hardly necessary to remark that that would be making it a permanent assembly.

In the Louisville Journal of Oct. 16th, is an editorial commentary on these proceedings, in which, under the most downy tenderness towards the Slave Power, some terribly sharp truths are presented to the Slaveholders. We do not remember when we have seen the practical system so cut to pieces under the guise of friendship. Almer, the son of Ner, could not have stabbed it more precisely thro' the heart, with "the kinder end of the spear," than Prentice has done in this article. Whether his fifth rib will be tickled with some slaveholding Job's bowie knife in consequence, remains to be seen.

Mr. Prentice thinks the production of cotton has reached a stage at which it can no longer absorb all the energies of the planting States, and consequently the demand for slaves in them must slacken. This will cause accumulation of the article in Kentucky, and perhaps turn back the tide. He thinks that while general emancipation would be bad policy, slaves from abroad should be excluded, and the institution be kept, if possible, in its present limits. He then makes the very remarkable statement, that—
"In every Slave State there is a maximum of white population which is never passed but when once attained the white population gradually diminishes, while the disproportion of slaves rapidly increases. This has been more particularly remarked generally applied to the low lands of Virginia. The reason usually given for it is, that the lands have been worn out under the impoverishing influence of slave culture. But the census proves the same to be equally true of the upland, rich lands of Kentucky. Some of the counties embracing the richest land in the State have actually decreased in white population."

Mr. Prentice gently reminds the Convention that 120,000 non-slaveholding voters, representing five-sixths of the white population of the State, and not having one single representative of their class in that body, may have some rights and some interest in the settlement of the slave question. To be sure, he says, it is a wonderful compliment to the integrity and high character of the slaveholders, that these non-slaveholders should have entrusted their interests so entirely to their keeping, and it ought to stimulate the slaveholders to be exceedingly magnanimous and consult the interests of the laboring white men as well as their own! Can anything be more ludicrous than the waste of such arguments upon such men? Can anything be more absurdly ingenious than this turning into a compliment to the slaveholders of what is really a most astounding proof of the shame, ignorance and utter degradation of the non-slaveholding whites?

Mr. Prentice argues with irresistible force against forbidding emancipation and driving out the free blacks, a class of men to whom he gives a high character as peaceful, trustworthy, law-abiding citizens. On the latter point, he warns the slaveholders that the free blacks have rights and property, and that they who have especially deprecated interference with such rights, should beware of setting the example of trespass. Says he, "if there be any right of property deserving to be characterized as entitled to more sanctity than another, it must be a man's right to himself." Exactly so Mr. Prentice, and there you have sewed up the slaveholders. There never was a time in the history of any free-people, colored or white, in which his right to himself was not "entitled to more sanctity" than his right to anything else. By what right then could this freeman be enslaved? Surely not by any right of property. It must be the right of power, or self-defence, or philanthropy, or something else—the right of wrong, most likely—anything but the right of property. When slaveholders claim their slaves by the right of royalty, priesthood, or

benevolence, there may be more or less sense in it—very little we think, if not less—but when they claim them as property, they only furnish the Abolitionists a logical club to knock their brains out. The claim of property in man, notwithstanding the oily eloquence and ready wit of Henry Clay, is absurd, impossible and abominable.

What has the North to do with Slavery?

The following letter from a Washington correspondent of The Tribune may possibly help some to answer the question.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Oct. 16.
MR. GREELEY:—Facts are stubborn things. When Mr. Gott offered a resolution in the House of Representatives last winter, declaring Slavery in the District of Columbia to be a disgrace to us in the eyes of all Christendom, the Southern members held a meeting in the Senate Chamber, in secret, in the night time, and threatened to dissolve the Union. Is it any wonder that Northern men, with Northern hearts and Northern heads, should cry 'Amen!' to the efforts of these Southern fanatics, when they see, in the very heart of the capital, on Pennsylvania avenue, between the Halls of Legislation and the Halls of Legislative power, on God's holy day, a wagon load of HUMAN CATTLE in the form and likeness of their Maker, chained and manacled to the vehicle like sheep in the butcher's cart, ready for the sacrifice of blood and toil? Such a scene occurred here on Sunday last, Oct. 14, year of our Lord 1849. The cries of the miserable wretches as they jolted over the rough pavement at a brisk trot, mingled mysteriously with light and careless voices of God's people returning from the cushioned seats and domus stools, where they are wont to worship the Most High, and pray for all mankind! The slave driver had been into Maryland to purchase his 'Live Stock'—probably for the Southern market,—and was taking them to the shambles, to be inspected by the dealers in 'God's image cut in ebony!'—Oh, did it ever occur to the pious, Christian Slaveholder, or to any Slaveholding freeman who acknowledges himself accountable to a Hereafter, what a fearful distance lies between him and everlasting happiness! When Almighty Power and Retributive Justice go forth to lift the pall of darkness from the world, to unloose the shackles of the oppressed, and open the eyes of mankind to light and truth, how will come of the patriots and saints of to-day call upon the rocks and mountains to cover them from that unsleeping Eye which sees everywhere!

How long are we to suffer this reproach? Will slavery continue in the District? Is there not one yet who has arisen with genius fit and courage sufficient to stab the monster to the heart, and rid us of the disgrace? Will men in Congress still truckle to power, and let the seal of everlasting shame and guilt be burned deep on their front—or is there light ahead?

A New Phase.

The correspondent of the Journal of Commerce announces that a Southern Democrat, on the first day of the session of the Senate, will submit a proposition on the question of Slavery, which will settle it as regards the Territories, and Clay and Calhoun will support it. This is the scheme—
—That California shall be divided into three States.

—That the law of the Missouri Compromise shall be applied thereto.

The bill which will be introduced in the Senate will provide, first, for the establishment of four Territorial Governments, to wit: that for New Mexico, that for Deseret, that part of California north of 36° 30' min. and west of Deseret, and the part of California south of 36° 30' min. shall be authorized forthwith to form a State Constitution, and shall be admitted into the Union. Also, that a new State shall be admitted from the eastern part of Texas, and south of 36° 30' min. The bill will not settle the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, but will provide that the question be submitted to a Board of Commissioners.

California will not be allowed to take the Ocean boundary, which has been proposed in her Convention.

The Territorial questions, mingled with the slavery agitation, and the uncertainty as to the permanence of either of the present party organizations, will give an extraordinary interest to the coming session, even at its very commencement. The slavery question is the great hubbub of the day, and will swallow up all others.

John Van Buren.

This adroit politician, son of the magician Martin Van Buren—a chip of the old block, has a letter in the Boston Republican, correcting certain errors in the report of his recent speech at the Free soil meeting in Faneuil Hall, by the editor of that paper.

Mark the following paragraph from it:—
"I did not avow my determination 'never to go into a National Convention with slaveholders.' I have never objected to a man on the ground of his being a slaveholder. I said that so long as the Southern States made proslavery the sole test of eligibility to office, it was obvious that no National Democratic Convention could be held, for the basis of a National Convention is a willingness and an obligation to support the nominee of the Convention, whoever he may be."

This is the length and breadth of Mr. Van Buren's 'free soil' principles. He objects to the nomination of no man-stealer as a candidate for democratic (?) suffrages; he only objects to the making of perpetual slavery a national democratic test. It is manifest that he is willing that the Southern wing of democracy should be pro-slavery to any extent locally; only the Northern wing must be left free to be anti-slavery locally, according to circumstances; while the party itself must agree to 'run for luck.' Bad luck to all such compromisers!—*Liberator.*

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.
Things Political.
The Annual Agony is over. The ballot-boxes have closed upon the Sibylline Leaves from which our South-sayers seek to spell out our Destinies. Their imperfect utterances were dashed from Maine to Louisiana almost before the last lingering voter had torn himself from the scene of his imagined victory or defeat, and all may read them as they list. It has on the whole been a tolerably comfortable season for us impartial on-lookers, because the Elections have, as a general thing, resulted in the disappointment of all parties. The Democrats in New York have not quite carried their point, while the Whigs rejoice with trembling over a victory which they foresee must give into a Defeat. In Massachusetts the Taylorites have had a rebuff such as they little expected and which must have materially qualified the pleasure of their absolute success. While the Free Soilers, everywhere, have had a lesson as to the inefficiency of their Method to accomplish any sufficient End. They have not only been taught, if they have the grace to learn, that Slavery is not to be reached by the means they use, but that their men are not to be relied upon so as to develop what virtue there may be in them.

We sincerely wish that the success of the Free Soil Movement had been greater. Not that we think that it is of any particular moment to the Slaves, or to the Country, whether Zachary Taylor or Martin Van Buren be the Chief Gaffer at Washington, or whether George Briggs or Stephen C. Phillips be set to keep the Massachusetts Ward of the National Prison-house; but because we believe that many of the sincere Anti-Slavery men of that Party will learn the futility of their attempt only through the Disappointment of Success. We have no objection to their Conditions and Amalgamations where they had the honest object of defeating the party which is now the especial Representative of the Slave Power, for such is the only means by which political success can be achieved, and it is absurd, having accepted the process, to quarrel with the necessary steps.—Politics is a very coarse and clumsy machine, at best, and they who are too fine gentlemen to bear its legitimate and necessary workings had better let it alone. In our Country it is only to be fed by votes, and people who wish for a grist to their minds must not be too particular as to what goes into the hopper. Nothing can well be more comic than to see gentlemen professing to believe that the Country is to be redeemed by a majority of votes, turning up their noses at the very votes that are essential to the redemption they seek.

The first thing which a Voter has to swallow is the Constitution under which he votes, and which is the Commission he gives to his minister whom he appoints by his ballot. If his Aspiration has been enlarged by the degeneration of this monstrous Camel, with all its humps of Pro-Slavery Compromises and concessions, one would think that he would hardly strain at a poor little gnat of a Democrat—or a Whig either, when, "the whiffing of Time again brought around his revenges." We wish to see all the elements of principle or policy can unite brought together for political onslaught upon slavery, not because we believe that they could do anything to the purpose, as long as they are encumbered by the fetters of the Constitution; but because we believe that this is a stage that must be passed through before a large class of minds will discover that nothing can be thus done. We believe that many of the leading Free Soilers, who came out of the Whig and Democratic parties, are sincere men who have made actual sacrifices for personal position and political promotion for what seems to them a high duty. We wish they could be put in a position, for once, in which by trying what they can do they will find that they can do nothing, and that they must begin their work over again. But the fatal falling off of the crop of Free Soil votes, even in the localities most favorable to their growth, since the last harvest-time, looks ill for the future. It looks as if the constitution of the Free Soil Party were too weak for prolonged life, unless it can get a large infusion of fresh blood into its veins.

We have never expected that any large portion of the American People would come up to the ground occupied by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the Constitution of the Union. That ground was discerned and is maintained by men who have looked at the Constitution and the Union with the eyes of the Slave, and with the single purpose of discharging the grand duty of this Age and Country, as far as they were concerned, to him. Such are not the views or purposes of the mass of the Northern People, not even of that portion that goes to make up the Free Soil Party. The motives and arguments that have been urged to influence its action, as far as they have come within our notice, have been chiefly drawn from the selfish interests of those addressed. The predominance of the South, her injustice to the North, the unequal distribution of high Office, her hostility to Northern interests, and other similar topics of a personal or sectional nature, have been the main springs which the managers of this Movement have played upon. This is the natural course of things and one not to be complained of. But these considerations do not come home to the daily business and internal lives of those addressed, and therefore their influence is but transient. Witness the domination of the Free Soil Vote in Massachusetts. There are the Slaves, and here is the political punishment of permitting them to be such; why should Zeal diminish and love grow cold? The existence of an Ultra, Fanatical, Anti-Slavery body is as essential to political Anti-Slavery as the Steam in the Engine is to the motion of the Train.

It is true that an enlightened self-interest or an intelligent self-respect would lead to political action that might result in the en-

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

I LOVE AGITATION WHEN THERE IS CAUSE FOR IT—THE ALARM BELL WHICH STARTLES THE SLAVES OF A CITY, SAVES THEM FROM BEING BURNED IN THEIR BEDS.—*Bucke.*

Salem, Ohio, December 8, 1849.

The Editor at Home.

The Editor of *The Bugle* has the pleasure once more of greeting his readers from the editorial chair. After an absence of six weeks, he has returned to his post, prepared to do battle in the cause of Freedom with renewed zeal and courage. His journeyings have been exceedingly pleasant and profitable to himself, and it is hoped, not altogether unproductive of good to the cause. He has not only renewed acquaintance with many old and valued friends, but experienced the pleasure of an introduction to some of the most intelligent and devoted advocates of truth in the West. He has been received everywhere with a cordiality which excited his warmest gratitude and left impressions upon his mind as agreeable as they are ineffaceable.

Our thanks are due to our highly esteemed friend, JAMES BARNARD, for his kindness in devoting to the care of *The Bugle*, during our absence, all the time he could spare from other and pressing engagements. He has discharged the duties of Editor *pro tem.* in a manner not creditable to himself and satisfactory to us.

CORRESPONDENTS (private) will see in the absence of the Editor the reason why their favors have not been promptly acknowledged. They shall hear from us shortly.

Congress.

This body, facetiously described as the embodiment of the Nation's wisdom, assembled at Washington on Monday last. At this time (Thursday) we have no advices of its proceedings. On account of the tangled state of parties, it was expected that the struggle to elect a Speaker would be very exciting, and no one ventures to predict the result. The members elected as Free Soilers hold the balance of power, and if they are true to their principles and manage their cards judiciously, they may perhaps secure the election of a man who will treat them with respect in the organization of the Committee, &c. The Whigs will support Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, Speaker of the last House. He is a daughter of the most abject stripe, but the Southern 'Democracy' will do their best to defeat him and to elect one of their own sort. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, is their candidate, but it is doubtful if they can elect him without the aid of the Northern Democratic Free Soilers, which it is presumed they cannot obtain. It is idle, however, to speculate upon probabilities when the actual result is so soon to be known.

The Message of the President will doubtless reach us before our next issue. It is hardly probable that we shall publish it at length, unless indeed it shall prove to be much shorter than such documents usually are; but we shall at least present a faithful synopsis of its contents.

The session will probably be a stormy one, not only on account of the peculiar state of parties, but from the fact that the exciting question of Slavery will be presented in a more formidable shape than usual. The admission of California, with a Constitution forbidding Slavery, will be opposed by Mr. Calhoun and those who follow his lead. They will take this ground with no expectation of success, but in the hope of thereby obtaining better terms in the shape of a 'compromise.' The boundaries of the new State will have to be settled, and then will come up the question of applying the Wilcox Provision to that portion of the territory not included in its limits. Then there is the Mormon State of Deseret, which will also apply for admission to the Union, with a Constitution entirely silent on the question of Slavery. A portion at least of the Northern members of both parties, will oppose its admission. The organization of the territory of New Mexico will be another source of difficulty. A large portion of this territory is claimed by Texas, and the United States Government has already resisted its claims.

The North has the power to settle all these questions in favor of Freedom—that is, so far as Freedom can prevail under the present Constitution. She cannot indeed, without dissolving the Union, prevent the new territories from becoming the hunting ground of the man-stealer, nor relieve their citizens from the common obligation to aid in keeping the slaves securely in their chains; but she may, if she will, make California and New Mexico as free as the other so-called Free States. The South, or at least a part of her citizens, are trying over again their old game of threatening to dissolve the Union in case the North will not submit to their wishes. Whether the North has the backbone to enable her to stand upright under this new application of the slaveholding treachery, we seriously doubt, but shall be most happy if we find ourselves disappointed in the result. We shall watch the proceedings with intense interest, and keep our readers apprised of all that is done. Meanwhile it is well to note the current opinions of the political press, and therefore we copy the following paragraphs from the New York Tri-

bune. They lead us to hope that that journal at least will go against all compromise. We say, hope, for past experience has taught us that we cannot safely rely upon the power of a political partizan to keep himself upright in the midst of surrounding temptations.

THE COMING CONGRESS.

The First Session of the XXXIst Congress opens on Monday. Already most of the Members are at Washington, and when the hour arrives not a seat will be unoccupied, except from some cause impossible to obviate. Never has the assembling of the National Legislature been awaited with more serious expectation by the people; never were more important issues referred to it for settlement; never have more weighty consequences depended upon its action.

The great question now to come up is of course that between Slavery and Free Soil. Viewed from a little distance, and in the light of positive principles, one is astonished that such a question should ever be raised. It seems both absurd and melancholy that freemen should come to dispute about the rights of Slavery, as if it had any right except to disappear and be forgotten along with other crimes and monstrosities in that original Night whence it came. Did we not know it, we could not believe that a great Republic based on liberty and equality could be agitated and threatened with subversion because certain of its citizens were bent upon strengthening the institution of Slavery, establishing it in new regions and increasing its consistency. There are some tough lessons in this world. There are serfs and bondmen in other countries, but no where is the accursed institution so tenacious, violent and aggressive as in the United States.

There is talk of new compromises, which shall give part of the Territories in question to Slavery. Were the dispute one of mere expediency, a matter of money, or of material advantage, a compromise would be a laudable thing. Not so in a matter of principle; there can be no safe compromise between truth and falsehood, between light and darkness. The man who bargains away a principle sows evil for the future. He who consents to the establishment of negro slavery on an inch of that Territory, because such seems the easier policy, may possibly have the head and heart of a freeman; as to that we do not presume to decide; but he pursues a course we cannot envy.

As to the dissolution of the Union we are not alarmed. The North does not threaten to dissolve it, and has no thought of such an experiment. All that talk comes from another quarter, and frontier words would be a difficult invention. Suppose Freedom is triumphant, and South Carolina dissolves the Union. What will she do then? How will she gain thereby that addition to the Slave power for which she now so loudly clamors? Will she attempt to conquer California in order to extend there the blessings of Bondage? Will she even preach a crusade against New Mexico or Deseret? Or will the great mass of sensible Southern people find her banner a better one to march under than the Stars and Stripes of the Union? We shall see.

No, there is nothing frightful in these outgivings, and we suppose no general terror is caused by them. The people hereabouts seem to expect the result with serenity of mind, for their convictions are thorough and immovable.

Pro-Slavery Tyranny.

Rev. A. T. Foss has been excluded from the Salisbury (N. H.) Baptist Association on account of his anti-slavery principles. The New Hampshire Baptist State Convention, in order to prevent all discussion of Slavery in its meetings, has adopted a rule, that when any subject shall be introduced, any member may object to its being discussed; when it shall be the duty of the presiding officer immediately to put the question—Shall this question be discussed? If the Convention vote in the negative, no one is allowed to speak upon the question. It is by such means that a Northern ecclesiastical body seeks to shut out the light of truth on a great moral question, and one which concerns the highest welfare of millions. It is for denouncing such bodies that Abolitionists are called infidels; and they are infidels to a religion which sanctions or connives at the enslavement of their fellow-men.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.—We see it announced that three ladies—two married and one single—are attending the lectures of the Eclectic Medical College recently opened at Syracuse, N. Y. We may add, without impropriety, that three more—two married and one single—are engaged in the study of Anatomy and Physiology, under the direction of Dr. Kersey G. Thomas, at Marlboro, Stark Co., Ohio. They are J. Elizabeth Jones, Sarah Cones and Mary Ann W. Johnson.

Congress—No Election of Speaker.

By telegraphic dispatches via Pittsburgh, we have advices from Washington down to the close of Wednesday's session. There had been no election of Speaker.

The three tall ballots stood as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.
Cobb, (Dem.)	102	99	100
Winthrop, (Whig.)	96	97	97
Scattergood,	26	18	28
Wilnot,			9

The House was full except King and Norton, Whigs, and Julian, Free Soil. The President's Message cannot be delivered till after the organization of the House. The excitement at Washington was high.

OHIO LEGISLATURE.—The Senate, at the last advices, had been reorganized. In the House, B. F. Leifer, (Dem.) of Stark, elected Speaker on the 10th ballot. Charles W. Blair, of Brown, Clerk.

CONVENTION IN CENTRAL NEW-YORK.—See notice in another column.

The following letter would have been inserted at an earlier day, but for the fact that it was enclosed in a private communication which came to hand in the Editor's absence. It has not spoiled, however, in keeping.—*Ld. Bugle.*

The Pennsylvania Anniversary—Education of Woman.

Correspondence of The Bugle.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28th, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND: It was my intention to have given you some sort of a report of our State Annual Meeting, which took place at Norristown on the 15th inst., but in truth I found the temptation so strong to yield myself unreservedly to the spirit of the hour, that the benevolent purpose was soon lost sight of. I say "benevolent," because (whatever others may think,) the office of reporter does not correspond with my notions of comfort. To be lifted, as it were, right out from among your fellows, where you had the benefit of the speaker's eye as well as voice, while happy, refreshing magnetic influences floated all around us, and be placed in a vice, where when the audience is convulsed with laughter you have not a moment's time to turn your head round and catch the rays that are flashing, or so much as distend the corners of your mouth, but must forthwith write down ("roars of laughter,") and dip your pen in ink for the next sentence; or, when in the midst of a most affecting appeal you would instinctively thrust your hand in your pocket for your handkerchief, all is spoiled by remembering instantly that your duty is to chronicle ("tremendous applause.") No, no—I love too well to laugh with those that laugh, and weep with those that weep; hence I have, as you will infer, the greatest pity as well as reverence for those worthy individuals—antique scribes or disciples of Pitman—who fill the unenviable position of reporter. Then again one is confronted with the fact, that the very life and essence of a good anti-slavery meeting can never be transferred to paper. The strength mutually gained when those who at home risk meeting the enemy in single combat by night or by day, in fair weather or foul, now court their gains and rest "a spell." The warm glow of life in the soul by the mere personal presence of zealous and beloved friends, making the homely face handsome, and clothing even the naked beaches of the building with a certain air of beauty. The force of numbers—a condensed public opinion—"expressed and understood" on the right side—private resources and retort-answers between "services," and dry, pointed wit-words that drop here and there, (no disrespect to the speaker,) polishing the countenance and making the world seem altogether a better world, and the work to be done in it of tenfold more importance than it was the day before.

Yes, it is very clear that all this cannot be printed. The Anti-Slavery papers may come regularly to the isolated household, and very necessary they are, as containing the best moral and intellectual teaching to be had anywhere in the land; but after all, the individual is to be pitied who, from spiritual apathy or physical sickness, is obliged to forego these "occasions." Doubtless there are always some few present who have settled liver complaint, which you know is connected with nervous dyspepsia, and such word of course grumble or sneer at the best bill of fare; but then I never sit in their part of the meeting-house, and so cannot speak positively. I believe that folks are disinterested and self-sacrificing—believe in God, and especially in Man and in Progress, and this more and more every day; and my advice, to any one (not a nervous dyspeptic) who disbelieves from want of evidence, is, just to sit on the pulpit stairs and face an Anti-Slavery audience for one afternoon; and if he does not go home afterwards and speak more encouragingly of the weather, the markets, and the foreign news at least, why—I shall believe he has dyspepsia. But to return to our special gathering—I am assured on all hands that it was the "very best" ever held in Pennsylvania, which statement will be fully corroborated by the editors of the Standard and Freeman.

You criticize rather severely Chas. Stearns's Life of Box Brown. I have heard the same in substance from other quarters. It is a pity Mr. McKim could not be induced to give us the facts that are in his possession, in all their pointed simplicity. They are in themselves truly heroic, and need no embellishing or exaggeration. I have thought very much of your Young People's Convention, and the probable result, both as respects talent evolved and influence exerted. I wonder how many young women among those there congregated felt noble thoughts burn within them and failed to utter them from fear of failing in the attempt. How many realized within themselves fair talents, earnestness, love unavailably in any commensurate sense, from the want of proper mental training? Very many, I am quite sure. And will these go to their several homes without having formed the determination to secure the discipline which shall give them possession of themselves, give them power to help influence the world aright? Do they know that Oberlin College is in Ohio—Oberlin, to which Lucy Stone went a "Garrison" abolitionist, and graduated the efficient laborer, the loving and lovely woman that she is? Shall we not have more such from among the friends I have just alluded to? Many object, I know, to the bitter sectarianism of this institution, and many of us might be shocked doubtless at the idea of refusing a candidate because he had traveled on Sunday on his way thither; but these narrow outward views respecting one day in the week are not, it seems to me, to be put in comparison with the immense advantage gained on the other six days; the systematic course of study—the same for women as men; the habit of earnest discussion before numbers of both sexes; the getting rid in fact of the silly notion that because a woman is a woman, therefore she must always be inefficient and unready in everything save domestic matters. The respect for women and the respect for labor, always avowed and

acted on by the body governing this college, place it far above any other in the country. Its expenses are small, less than at any good boarding school in or out of the State. Would hundreds would avail themselves of the advantages thus offered. I do not fear the conversion to a sentimental, unproductive "pious" young women reared in sensible anti-slavery families, who have already practical views, and who intend that most of their lives shall be working prayers and their revivals shall help to usher in the new dispensation when "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" shall be very deed prevail over the earth.

Very truly yours,

The Cause in Western Massachusetts.

Correspondence of The Bugle.

LEICESTER, Mass., Nov. 23, 1849.

DEAR LEICESTER: Since I last wrote to you, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has been actively engaged, through its agents, disseminating anti-slavery light and truth in every part of the State to which it has hitherto altogether too little attention, but which may be brought to exert a very powerful influence against Slavery.—I mean the section western, Connecticut River. I believe no meetings here and there, to proclaim and defend the principles of the Mass. Society have been held since 1844, when a few of the One Hundred Conventions of that year were assigned a portion of the State! Of course our agents, of a successful issue of our labors, and of a favorable hearing of our views, were raised very highly; for we have found that doctrine that men ought to "cease to do evil, and have no fellowship with workers of the same," is quite too radical and ultra there, to be received, or even comprehended, particularly by those who ought to give the cordial welcome and support to such a principle, I mean the ministers and members of the churches of Jesus Christ. We that usual discouragements and obstacles would have to be encountered. Our cause was small—Charles C. Burleigh, Lucy Stone and myself. What could we hope to do against the combined political and religious strength that was arrayed against us? We could but try to arouse a few from their condition of moral apathy, and to give them a general and undivided guilt. Lectures have been given in about twenty different towns, in some instances two or three in a town, and large highly interesting Sunday Conventions in the larger towns. Our success has been beyond what we could have hoped for. Where, or with very few exceptions, our causes have been respectable for numbers, have given the clearest and most interesting relation to the pleadings in behalf of the alien among thieves, and to our exposing the principles—upright and downward, as it were—of the American Anti-Slavery Society. A small society has been awakened to hear and more fully, what this new doctrine is. People are very nearly right; and would be wholly so, but for their sectarian and political leaders. We have found ministers (as here in old Mass. society) asserting that holding is not inherently wrong and evil, and annually admitting slaveholders into their pulpits. We have found politicians—men who have once been a zealous professing Abolitionist—holding Zachary Taylor, and congratulating their party on the admirable manner which he had redeemed all his pledges; anybody asks you why we don't go South, preach anti-slavery, you can tell them of the work which anti-slavery has yet to do in Massachusetts; for while the people submit to be led by such men, and are content to learn law and the gospel from such lips, they need have a work of emancipation done for them more than many of the Southern slaves, who are slaves from compulsion and not from choice. This good work, of breaking the shackles and with slavery, we believe is going on—steadily and effectively going on. If the company of the press were not so short-sighted as selfish schemers usually are, they would soon become obedient to the faith, were it only to save themselves from the fast-increasing distrust and even contempt of the thinking portion of the community. But my time has gone, and I must write no more, fruitful as is the theme. The work of Western Massachusetts will go on awhile longer, our good friend and your fellow-laborer Parker Pillsbury, with his well-tempered and an armor of surest proof, having added his self to the company. After the first of December he will probably pass a little while in Eastern New York, laboring in connection with Stephen and Abby K. Foster.

These few words from Massachusetts will I trust, be unacceptable to your readers. We look with the deepest interest to Ohio. The Berlin Convention took a truly great and honorable position. May they bravely hold and defend it to the end.

Yours with sincere regard,

SAM'L MAY, Jr.

Wm. W. Brown has written to Wendell Phillips, enclosing a copy of a passport furnished him by J. C. B. Davis, (son of Hon. John Davis, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts,) as American Secretary of Legation at the Court of St. James. Mr. Brown is described in the passport as "a citizen of the United States." The representatives abroad are not guided, it is seen, by the decision of the Secretary of State at home.

CAPE COD.—We are glad to observe that our efforts are to be made during the present winter for the dissemination of anti-slavery principles among the hardy fishermen of Cape Cod. A Convention is to be held at Hyannis to-day (Dec. 8) which Messrs. Garrison, Phillips and May, and Lucy Stone, are expected to attend. A County Society will probably be organized.

THE LANCET.—The omission of the name upon the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, is a mistake. The petitioned political journal sought an excuse for a mistake, and the Editor himself is rectified.

THE LANCET.—The omission of the name upon the petition for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, is a mistake. The petitioned political journal sought an excuse for a mistake, and the Editor himself is rectified.

franchisement of the North, at least. But enlightenment and intelligence are the very things our self-interest and self-respect lack. If these were not wanting would the North submit to the utter annihilation of the Constitution, as far as they are concerned, in the enslavement of our citizens, the expulsion of our legal agents and our forcible ejection from the National tribunals? But this voluntary darkening of the eyes, and this pusillanimity of spirit, is a part of the punishment consequent on our criminal consenting to the oppression of our countrymen, and makes all Reformation that does not proceed from genuine Repentance, almost impossible. It is the wish to combine continued connivance with the crime, with effectual endeavor against it, that complicates our political action. An accomplice always cuts a sorry figure when he appears as witness against the partner of his crime or as his rebuker.—This is the absurd and culpable attitude in which Anti-Slavery politicians stand. The business of Abolitionists is to keep the Mind of the Public in such a state of wholesome agitation on the subject of Slavery as to compel such imperfect service as it is in its heart and its nature to give.

All political attempts to control Slavery, hitherto, have been groping and empirical.—Perhaps they may learn wisdom from their own mistakes. Mr. John Van Buren, in his speech at Faneuil Hall indicated a future step, which may be in the right direction.—He made three significant suggestions.—First, that New York will not go into a National Convention with the South, unless the South retract her resolutions making the Extension of Slavery a test office; secondly, that he would never support any man for President who would not exert his power, to its extreme Constitutional extent, for the Abolition of Slavery; and thirdly, that matters might come to such a pass as to result in the election of a President by Northern votes, alone. This, it seems to us, indicates the next move on the political Chess-board.—Let a Convention be called in 1852 of delegates from the Free States alone, and a Party organized as the Northern Party, and the Politics of the Country would begin to right itself again. It is the delusion of Nationality, and the pretended abnegation of Sectionality, that has given us up bound hand and foot to the South. An Anti-Slavery party must be strictly and necessarily a Sectional or Northern Party. It would have its favorites in the South, as the Southern Party would in the North; but the controlling, compelling force of the party must consist in its Northern character and objects. Whatever arrays the North against the South is of its own nature a good. When two hostile elements are separated and placed in direct antagonism with each other, there is a hope that the worst may go to the wall. As long as they attempt to act in alliance with each other the worst must have the mastery of the better. This state of things would be far enough from being the best, but it would be a far more wholesome and hopeful political condition than has existed for forty years.—*E. Q.*

From the Massachusetts Spy. The New Territories.

We copy, this morning, portions of three very significant letters from Washington, to the New York Journal of Commerce, which were published in that paper of the 19th inst. These letters are important, as coming through an original Taylor paper, and from a correspondent, who is understood to be well informed as to the views and wishes of the administration. It will be noticed, that the writer approves of the proposed action in relation to the new territories.

This action, it seems, is to consist in a new compromise of the slavery question, by which the southern part of California is to be given over to slavery, New Mexico to be left without any restriction, the Texas boundary question to be left to Commissioners—which will be equivalent to yielding up the Santa Fe Territory to Texas and Slavery, and, finally, the making of a new slave State from Eastern Texas, to be admitted into the Union with the northern portion of California, as an offset to it, and to maintain the equal power of slavery in the United States Senate! Such is the project, and it is said that Calhoun and Clay approve of it, and that it will have the support of Southern men, both Whigs and Democrats.

There is too much reason to believe that the plan, here shadowed forth, is substantially correct, and that a most desperate effort will be made—aided privately, if not openly, by the administration—to carry it through. The slave power has never yet been thwarted in any similar project. The new territories were acquired through the influence of that power, for the express purpose of extending the area of slavery and maintaining its ascendancy in the United States Senate. It will not yield its purposes, nor, without a most desperate struggle. A bold and daring course has always been its policy. It claims all you have as a matter of right, and, finally, will perhaps yield to you one half of what is your own, as a great favor to you. It thus secured to itself Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, and a considerable portion of the Western Territory. It thus obtained the whole of Texas with its undefined boundary, and thus it expects to secure a good portion at least, of California, and the whole of New Mexico.

In this connection we are struck with the coincidence of the facts, that just as this new project comes to light, Henry Clay, "the great compromiser," who is announced as its friend, is also announced, as having suddenly and unexpectedly appeared on the Atlantic Sea board, in Philadelphia and Baltimore—for what purpose, no one knows,—but all may, perhaps, surmise. Whether he is brought here in reference to this question or not, we have not the slightest doubt, that a bold and reckless demonstration is to be made on the part of the Slave power, in Congress, and fortunate will it be, for the friends of Freedom, if they are able to thwart its desperate designs. We have never had the slightest faith in the sly serpent of those who have so often assured us that all is well, and that the great battle for Freedom had already been fought and won. We have seen no evidence of any such thing. We believe that all the firmness and all the energy of the friends of Freedom will be needed for the approaching crisis, and fortunate will it be for them, if they are able to come successfully through it.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17. The administration may, perhaps, be excused for displaying a little morbid sensibility upon the subject of foreign aggression and encroachment, because the Whigs have been tainted by their opponents with lack of patriotic ardor, and

for the reason also, that no backwardness in the vindication of our rights, would be permitted by public opinion. It may be a little too anxious to cover itself with glory by the acquisition of new territory, but that is a besetting sin of the American people, and it was known, before Gen. Taylor's election, that he was in favor of the acquisition and annexation of Cuba, whenever it might be done consistently with our national honor.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17. I am happy to learn that there is to be a proposition from a Southern Democratic source, on the first day of the Session, that will, as is believed, settle the slavery question, so far as the admission of California and other States in the newly acquired territories is concerned.—The proposition will be in the form of a bill, and notice of its intended introduction will be given on the first day of the meeting of the Senate.

Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay will both support this compromise, as is believed by those who have some knowledge of their views.—In this way, the perils which are imminent will be avoided.

California cannot come into the Union with the boundaries at which she appears to aim—that is, the whole sea-coast.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Nov. 17.—P. M.—Since writing to you in relation to the matter of a projected compromise of the territorial and slavery questions, I have learned something of the details of the measure, and the strength which it is likely to have in the Senate. The scheme is well got up, and is to be urged as an alternative to, or rather, in opposition to, the movements contemplated by Mr. Calhoun, and other extreme men.

The scheme is based on the principle and the line of the Missouri Compromise, on the supposition that California can be divided into three States, or territories, which will soon be ready to assume the relation of States; and on the usage which has long been acted on, of preserving a sort of balance between the Slave and Free States, by admitting, at the same time, one Free and one Slave State.

Three Maine and Missouri, as it will be remembered, were admitted at the same time. The Bill, which will be introduced in the Senate, will provide, first, for the establishment of four territorial governments, to wit: that for New Mexico; 2d, that for Deseret; 3d, that for California, north of 36° 30'; and west of Deseret; and 4th, that of California south of 36° 30'.

It will also provide that the Territory north of 36° 30' min. shall be authorized forthwith to form a State Constitution, and shall be admitted into the Union. Also, that a new State shall be, at the same time admitted from the eastern part of Texas, and south of 36° 30' min. The Bill will not settle the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, but will provide that the question be submitted to a Board of Commissioners.

These territorial questions, mingled with the slavery agitation, and the uncertainty as to the permanence of either of the present party organizations, will give an extraordinary interest to the coming Session, even at its very commencement. The slavery question is the great humbug of the day, and will swallow up others.

AT A PUBLIC MEETING, held in Charleston, S. C., last week, over which the Mayor of the city presided, an extended and full report was made by a committee appointed for the purpose, at a public meeting held there in July last, relative to the institution in that city of an Episcopal congregation called Calvary Church, especially for colored people and slaves. It was at first looked upon with suspicion, but the committee have approved of it, inasmuch as it was conducted on strictly legal principles, under the supervision of the Bishop, and a collection of white persons, who attended the church regularly. They add, that they approve of introducing religious instruction among the slaves, because of the improvement it effects in their moral condition, docility, and submission to authority.

DOCILITY, AND SUBMISSION TO AUTHORITY.—mark that! The religion of Him who came to proclaim liberty to the captive so taught as to perpetuate chains and slavery! Horrible!—*Ld.*

LYNCH LAW IN CALIFORNIA.—A letter from San Francisco, in the Baltimore Patriot, says: Crimes are punished with dreadful penalties—hanging, shooting and whipping, cutting off the ears, &c. I am told a man was the other day convicted of stealing a large quantity of gold, (\$8,000) found upon him. He was sentenced to have his head shaved, both ears cut off close to his head, to receive 100 lashes on the bare back, and to leave the place within 16 hours, and California (never to return) within 16 days; with the addition that he be hanged by the neck until he is dead, in case he fails to comply with either of the last two clauses, within the time specified, or in the event of his return. And it is said the sentence, so far as the shaving, cropping and whipping, has been actually carried into effect.

THE PROSPECT FOR THE WINTER IN CALIFORNIA.—The rainy season in Mexico commences about the middle of the present month, and in California the rains will almost entirely cut off San Francisco from the diggings, turning the surrounding country into a swamp, and putting an end until April to all operations at the mines. For a period of four or five months trade must be dull, and as the exorbitant rates of interest, from twelve to twenty per cent, per month, cannot be paid, many failures are looked for among speculators and traders at San Francisco and the principal trading places up the mines.—Letters from intelligent men there, all predict this, and a pretty severe crash is looked for. The price of provisions will probably advance, as there are about thirty thousand immigrants, overland and by sea, to arrive at about the time the rainy season commences. A letter dated Sept. 27th, says—"The destruction in perishable articles when the rains begin will be immense; not one half of those that are landed can be stored. Rate of storage 18 to 20 per cent per month; do. of discharging and bringing on shore, 80 per cent; do. of cartage, \$1.50 per load. Seamen's wages have fallen from \$1.50 to 120 per month. Charges of all kinds are so exorbitant that goods often do not realize sufficient to pay them. It is almost impossible to get a merchant here to accept a cargo of goods, unless a sufficiency of coin, (which by the way is very scarce) accompanies it to pay the duties and charges. Every day, wool-folding captains and super-cargoes are met with, begging one to manage their business for them. The almost invariable answer is, 'Have you lumber?' 'No.' 'Have you beer?' 'No.' 'Then, my dear fellow, I can do nothing for you.'

A convention of Slaveholders in Maryland is seriously talked of, to consider measures to prevent the constant absconding of slaves.

